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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.
601 *Anánă-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.
192 *Anánă-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Maxabílin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Manańgósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Poñanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kăn* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pań* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialit ya ăzăńna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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not bother him, do not bring him in your midst, he is all right where he is. Pronouncing his name or bringing him into your presence is one and the same thing after all, therefore do not pronounce his name, at least if you are related to him, you at least should "pity him". Never mind if a stranger pronounces his name, he has no business with that dead person and does not care. But you, his relative, leave him at rest.

Of course, in all this only the words inclosed within quotation marks are Isneg explanations, the rest are mine; but I think I have not been far from the truth in my endeavors to show what was going on in the mind of the Isneg. Besides, the above are only two out of many examples that serve to prove the importance of a name and its meaning to an Isneg. In the following paragraphs many confirmations will be found of the same,—for instance, the preference given to names of people renowned for their bravery or old age, and so on.

Now, when is a child given its name? By whom? And what kind of a name is given?

These questions might be answered briefly and truly like this:

When? Immediately after birth.

By whom? By anybody around.

What name? Any name that sounds all right.

But such answers look very unsatisfactory. Let us give a few explanations.

The child is given its name immediately after birth. The reason, as given by the Isneg themselves, is lest some spirit take it upon himself to give it a name. And then? Well, I think the Isneg do not reason any further; maybe they know no case in which an *anito* gave a child its name, and so what could they answer? But I think that from his own point of view the Isneg is quite right after all, although perhaps actually unaware of it. Indeed if a child were given its name by a spirit, would it not be given its personality or something very much akin to it by that same spirit? And in such a case would the spirit not have all power upon that child? And who ever heard of a spirit doing good to a mortal being, except under compulsion, through some magical performance or other stratagem? And so the Isneg do not take any chances: they give their babe its name and claim it as their own as soon as possible, to the exclusion of all malevolent *anito*.

Anybody is allowed to propose a name for the child, and, if it proves acceptable, the baby will be known by that name from now on,

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553 whoever be the person who suggested it. It is very clear though that the relatives, especially the old women, the more so if a shaman is among the latter, have a deciding vote in the matter, and that, in case of disagreement, an Isneg shaman or other old woman decides the question. But such occurrences must be rare, as the Isneg do not mind so much by what name their children are called provided they have one at the earliest opportunity. The parents, however, usually refrain from giving their child its name, as they believe that in such a case the baby would not grow up or at least would grow very slowly.

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553 177 551 795 When baptizing an Isneg baby, we always give him some Christian name of course, and I know of very few cases in which I myself was not called upon to choose the name in question. Sometimes I had to suggest several names, as some of them did not prove acceptable, but for this there was usually no other reason than that they were too hard for the Isneg either to pronounce or to remember. This new name is generally faithfully adhered to, although the original Isneg name is rarely forgotten and sometimes even remains preponderant; indeed a name is something much too important not to be taken into consideration. Actually many Isneg babies get a Christian name as their proper name from the outset, and so all difficulties and equivocations are eliminated at once.

That this indifference exists not only with reference to the name of a child that has to be baptized, but even with reference to the first name of any newborn babe, is evident from the fact that Christian Ilоko or Kagayan school teachers are often called upon to suggest a name for the little one. So, at Ampaw for instance, which is a small agglomeration not so far from Nagbabalayan, we find a little boy called *Mabíni*, a name proposed by the teacher of the last-mentioned place at the suggestion of the father; now, even without knowing the person who gave the name, it is patent that such a name could not have been given by Isneg, as it is the family name of Mr. Apolinario Mabini, a Filipino hero of revolutionary war fame, of whom our Isneg know nothing at all. To complete the matter, I called the boy Apolinario at baptism.

551 It may be seen even from the above that any name will do. Nevertheless the Isneg also have their preference, and this especially in regard to three classes of names:

1. Names that have become traditional among the Isneg, "old names" as they call them. For instance *Súxdy*, which has no known

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Insiso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Enciso, a municipal treasurer. 557
Kôner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Liñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mina (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddâyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

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Bokonadôr (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
Fôrman (M), at Bubulayan: the title by which the chief inspector of roads is known all over the district
Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of 551
name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw.

In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the ex- [184]
clusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls.

So we have *Asáp*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagawan.

Luwé-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Ósañ: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Pílí: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. 553
All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans, 171

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553 among Ilóko and Kagayan who have been Christians for centuries, as well as among the tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province and some 171 of whom have started embracing Christianity only comparatively recently, the Negritos alone excepted, the custom of changing the name of a person at the time of prolonged or dangerous sickness is almost universal, to the dismay of Government officials and Church dignitaries, as such a practice brings nothing but confusion in the records, especially among pagan tribes, who have not yet adopted family names and continue to give each individual his own special personal name. I have discussed sufficiently the ideas of the Isneg about the matter, at the beginning of my treatment about Isneg names, without having to explain them any further, but some other points should be considered here.

553 Some Isneg keep their original name all through life, others have 551 it changed once or twice, rarely more often. The change usually takes place in infancy, more rarely in youth, and no ceremonies seem to be connected with the same: everything happens as in the case of the giving of the first name immediately after birth. It may happen also, in a few isolated cases, that a man or a woman of mature age gets or takes another name. So, at Kumaw, a girl called *Uńăy* gave the name of her father as *Bélan*, at the time of her baptism, a few years ago, while that same man is known all over the municipal district as *Okkóń*. Although it seems that the fellow must already have been called *Okkóń* at the time of the baptism of his daughter, who was married recently, his old name *Bélan* must have clung to him for a long time, otherwise his daughter would not have known it.

The most important reason for changing a name is, as has been stated repeatedly, the sickness of the child (*séno mawí ya takít*, "so that sickness go away") A few Isneg have their name changed once or twice merely through caprice, whether it be a whim of their own or one of their parents (in case they are still small): a certain name comes to their mind, for one reason or another that name catches their fancy and ends by pleasing them, and away goes the old name; the new name will be adopted from now on as the distinctive appellation of the girl or boy in question.

551 At least in the municipal district of Conner, and perhaps also 768 elsewhere, a very serious reason for changing the name of a baby is the death of one of its parents. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the Isneg have a certain fear of the dead and usually prefer that they stay where they are: they do not want them to interfere

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551 sides, I have experienced that old men and women usually give the
769 name very readily, although they be related to the person in question. That such a prohibition does not last indefinitely, even with the relatives of the deceased, is corroborated by the fact that the names of persons who were renowned for one reason or another during their lifetime, are often preferred when there is question of giving a little babe its first name: and it is far from unusual to encounter an Isneg youngster called after one of his own ancestors.

551 Then there are the names of the father-in-law and of the mother-in-
606 law (*katuxáñan*), which may never be pronounced under any pretext.
553 Up to this day very few Isneg, even among those who have been in contact with civilization for a long time, are bold enough to discard all fear on the subject and to pronounce them. This is especially apparent at the baptism of a child, when we record the names of its parents and grandparents: it very often happens that only one of the parents accompanies the baby that has to be christened, and this is a source of many difficulties, if there is no other person at hand who is acquainted with the names of the parents of the absent party. In case one of the persons whose names have to be recorded is dead, one can get at his name after comparatively little urging, but the name of a father-in-law or a mother-in-law, that never.

551 And why? The Isneg mostly do not know or pretend not to know
606 the reason: sometimes they say that, if they pronounce any of these names, their children will die, but such an answer is always accompanied by the term *kanó*, "it is said". But why should their children die? The whole question is probably shrouded in mystery even to the Isneg themselves; but one thing is certain: an almost insurmountable fear must have been instilled into them from time immemorial, while the real reason, the death penalty inflicted on the offspring of the offender, a penalty inflicted by *anito* of course, if this is the real reason, may have been forgotten either entirely or almost so by the majority of the natives. This fear must have been exceedingly great indeed in order to have the custom remain so persistently and so universally, even after the real explanation has been lost sight of. And that the Isneg have forgotten it, I am rather inclined to believe; I have been able to enter deeply into many matters much more delicate than the one in question, and although this has been done sometimes with no little difficulty, I usually have obtained what I wanted, but here the interrogation mark has so far remained as it was. Or is this a matter much more delicate in the eyes of the Isneg than